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ABSTRACT

In order to collect information on teacher displacement, the Race Relations Information Center surveyed white and black teachers and principals, teacher association executives, attorneys, civil rights and community leaders, state and federal officials, and journalists in 11 Southern states; the survey was conducted largely by phone. Several tentative general conclusions emerge. The number of black teachers being hired to fill vacancies or new positions is declining in proportion to the number of whites hired. Nonhiring is a form of displacement as serious as dismissal and demotion. Displacement is more widespread in small towns and rural areas than in metropolitan centers; in sections with a medium-to-heavy concentration of black citizens than in predominately white areas; and in the Deep South than in the Upper South. Finally, demotion of black principals and teachers is more prevalent than outright dismissal. The irony of displacement is that it has followed compliance with Federal laws designed to end discrimination. In the South in recent years, displacement of black professionals, and the diminishing of positions, pay, and prestige have accompanied each newly desegregated school despite legal decisions, the "equal protection" clause of the Fourteenth Amendment, and HEW guidelines. (Author/JM)

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Special Report

DISPLACEMENT OF BLACK TEACHERS IN THE ELEVEN SOUTHERN STATES

By

Robert W. Hooker

UD011169

RACE RELATIONS INFORMATION CENTER

Nashville, Tennessee 37212

December, 1970

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
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RRIC-12

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* In Georgia, a black man who had been a principal for 25 years found himself teaching social studies and history to seventh graders.

* In South Carolina, a woman with nine years' experience scored 423 on the National Teacher Examination--two points below "B" certification. When new contracts were sent out to the teachers at her school last spring, hers was not renewed.

* In Alabama, a woman who had taught home economics for 23 years was transferred from an all-black to an "integrated" school and assigned to teach second grade. Five days after she signed her new contract, she was fired for "incompetence."

* In North Carolina, a man with a degree with 15 years' experience had taught shop classes in a renovated barracks building. When a new school was built and desegregated, a young white man with no experience was hired to teach shop, and the experienced black teacher was transferred to a less desirable post. He "became a little dissatisfied," and quit his job.

* In Virginia, a county school system that is 40 per cent black has a faculty that is 15 per cent black. This year the system hired 23 new teachers. All but one of them is white.

Hard evidence is elusive and personal opinions sometimes conflict, but the apparent effect of desegregation on black teachers across the South this year has been more negative than positive. Hundreds of them have been demoted, dismissed outright, denied new contracts or pressured into resigning, and the teachers hired to replace them include fewer and fewer blacks. Ironically, the Southern version of school integration appears to be reducing, rather than expanding, the professional opportunities of many hundreds of black teachers.

Statistics on the situation are virtually nonexistent. Most officials in state departments of education maintain that the problems are minimal,

or nil, and superintendents and principals at the local level usually express a similar view. Many of the displaced teachers themselves are reluctant to discuss their predicament. Yet there is enough smoke arising from the testimony of some 250 persons contacted this fall by the Race Relations Information Center to suspect a big fire--a fire that is decimating the ranks of black classroom teachers and threatening black principals with extinction.

The RRIC survey of 11 Southern states, conducted largely by phone, reached white and black teachers and principals, teacher association executives, attorneys, civil rights and community leaders, state and federal officials, and journalists. None of them could offer definitive assessments backed up by extensive statistical evidence--the data of teacher displacement, given the transitory nature of the teaching profession and the reticence of school officials and teachers, is simply too elusive. Boyce S. Medlin, human relations specialist for the North Carolina Good Neighbor Council, aptly described the situation. "You can see the tracks," he said, "but you can't find the body."

Even without the bodies to prove how extensive displacement of black teachers is, several general conclusions emerge from the maze of scattered data, official and unofficial reports, individual opinions and outright guesses:

* The number of black teachers being hired to fill vacancies or new positions is declining in proportion to the number of whites hired. Nonhiring is a form of displacement as serious as dismissal and demotion.

* Displacement is more widespread in small towns and rural areas than in metropolitan centers; in sections with a medium-to-heavy concentration of black citizens than in predominantly white areas; and in the Deep South than in the Upper South.

* Demotion of black principals and teachers is more prevalent than outright dismissal.

Where displaced teachers go, nobody really knows. The older ones often go into involuntary early retirement. Younger teachers apparently migrate to other school systems to teach, or take jobs with industry or government. There are reports of some leaving the state, and the South, to teach in other parts of the country, but again, there are no statistics.

The irony of displacement is that it has followed compliance with federal laws designed to end discrimination. In the South in recent years, displacement of black professionals in the public schools has followed almost unfailingly in the wake of desegregation. In state after state, black educators' positions, pay and prestige have diminished with each newly desegregated school--legal decisions, the "equal protection" clause of the 14th Amendment, and HEW guidelines notwithstanding.

The pattern was set in the border states, which began desegregating shortly after the Supreme Court decisions of 1954 and 1955. By 1965, when a National Education Association (NEA) task force scrutinized the 17 Southern and border states for displacement, the closing of Negro schools and the firing of Negro teachers that had characterized parts of Kentucky, Missouri and Oklahoma in the 1950's was found in some counties of Arkansas, Texas, Tennessee and North Carolina.

Late in the decade, the trend reached the Deep South, where displacement was accelerated by the Supreme Court's October 1969 ruling that "all deliberate speed" is no longer constitutionally acceptable.

Invariably, the black principal has been desegregation's primary prey. Last spring a black high school in Louisiana was closed and its student body transferred to a unitary school. The black principal, who has two master's degrees and 20 years' experience as principal, was made "supervisor

of testing" (later, "supervisor of guidance and textbooks") at the new school.

Three years ago, there were more than 620 black principals in North Carolina, according to E.B. Palmer, associate executive secretary of the North Carolina Association of Educators. Now, he said, there are less than 170. During about the same time period, Alabama's black principals declined from 250 to 40 or 50, according to Montgomery attorney Solomon S. Seay and Mobile attorney A.J. Cooper. Mississippi has lost more than 250 black principals in the last two years, according to C.J. Duckworth, executive secretary of the Mississippi Teachers Association.

Few black principals are fired outright, RRIC sources said. Some are "kicked upstairs" into the central administrative offices, where they become "assistant superintendents" or "federal coordinators." ("Assistant to the superintendent in charge of light bulbs and erasers," one black educator said indignantly.)

Some are reduced a notch--from, say, high school principal to elementary school principal. Some are put back into the classroom. Some keep their title, but have a white "supervisory principal." Some go into college teaching, and some simply retire.

The demise of the black principal has ominous implications for the South and its black community. As J.C. James pointed out this fall in the New Republic, the black principal was for years the linchpin of his community--the link between the white and black communities, the idol of ambitious young blacks, the recruiter and hirer of new black teachers.

"In black culture," said Dudley Flood, associate director of the Division of Human Relations in the North Carolina Department of Public Instruction, "the black principal was about as high on the totem pole as it was possible to be. They could affect more things in Negro people's lives than any other person."

The sacking of black principals, therefore, "really takes a toll--an immeasurable toll--on the morale of the black community," said Flood. The leader, the link, the recruiter and the symbol is gone.

Next to go in the process of displacement, RRIC sources reported, are black coaches, band directors and counselors. An NEA task force that visited 70 school districts in Mississippi and Louisiana in September found no district in which a black was head coach of a desegregated school.

The black head coaches in those districts evidently have met a fate similar to that of a black coach in Edgefield County, S.C. When the dual schools merged this fall, the black man was not made head football coach. Three whites reportedly were added to the coaching staff ahead of him, and he was made assistant to the B team coach--the sixth man in the hierarchy.

Overall, though, indications are that coaches and band directors have come through desegregation with fewer losses than principals.

At the level of classroom teacher, the displacement of blacks this year has been less overt and proportionately less severe than the displacement of principals and coaches, but it has been happening nonetheless. Statistics compiled by the Atlanta branch of the Office for Civil Rights (Health, Education and Welfare) on 108 districts in six Southern states--all voluntary-plan districts that completed desegregation this fall (and therefore were probably less inclined to displace teachers than the more recalcitrant districts)--show that there were 9,015 black teachers in 1968-69, 8,509 in 1969-70, and 8,092 this fall.

Between the autumns of 1968 and 1970, while the total number of all teachers in those districts rose by 615, the number of black teachers fell by 923. Between 1969 and 1970, the total number went up by 429, the blacks fell by 417. (Dewey Dodds, acting head of the branch office, said the figures should be taken only as approximations. Statistics for 1968 and 1969 were sent

in by the school systems themselves. This year the Office for Civil Rights gathered the figures itself. However, Dodds said that, taken overall, the figures would probably render a fairly accurate picture.)

Some black teachers are being dismissed outright--fired or having their yearly contracts not renewed--but evidently the preponderance of the cases involves demotion, which can in turn lead to resignation and firings. As Birmingham attorney U.W. Clemon put it, "Most boards are sufficiently sophisticated to know not to turn a man out in the street. But they will do anything short of that."

Among the things school boards do are to relieve former department heads of their titles and demote high school teachers to junior high or elementary school classrooms. They place blacks in federally-funded programs, such as those under Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1964 (for the support of compensatory and enrichment programs for poor children)--and when the federal money runs low or is revoked, they release them.

They put black teachers in subjects out of their discipline, and when the English teacher has trouble teaching science, they fire her for "incompetence." They make blacks "co-teachers" with a domineering white, "teacher's aides" without responsibility, "floating teachers" without a classroom of their own, and sometimes even hall monitors without a classroom at all. Some of these teachers give up and resign. Some protest and are fired for insubordination.

And into the places of these demoted and dismissed blacks, more often than not, go whites--some with less education and experience than the teachers they are replacing.

It is, in fact, in the hiring of black teachers--rather than the firing--that the biggest catastrophe for blacks probably lies. In the 108 districts surveyed by the Atlanta Office for Civil Rights, 3,774 white teachers (77 per

cent of the total leaving) and 1,133 black teachers (23 per cent) left their school systems this fall. Hired new to those systems were 4,453 whites (86 per cent) and 743 blacks (14 per cent). (In 1969-1970, 4,375 whites and 876 blacks were hired new to the system.)

Legal Defense Fund investigator Bob Valder visited some 50 districts this fall in Florida and North Carolina and reported, "I have seen virtually no district where there was hiring to keep the teacher ratio comparable to the student ratio or even the current teacher ratio. I would lay odds that it's happening in the rest of the South, too."

Despite the erosion in the ranks of experienced black teachers, however, the new Negro teacher in the South seems to be faring well on the job market this year. Only one of the nine predominantly black institutions contacted by the RRIC--Saint Augustine's College in Raleigh, N.C.--reported that its teacher-education graduates were having trouble finding jobs. And Dr. F.W. Jones of the Department of Education attributed it as much to the national teacher surplus and procedural changes in the college placement office as to the displacement situation. He estimated that about one-third of Saint Augustine's 75 teacher graduates this year are not teaching--"an appreciable drop"--but that many of those are now housewives or employed in other fields.

Some of the other schools had only estimates, and some had no figures at all. But deans and placement officers at Florida A & M, Texas Southern, Grambling (Louisiana), Winston-Salem State (North Carolina), Tennessee State, and Clark College (Georgia) said their graduates were having no unusual problems this year finding employment in teaching. Officials at Southern University (Louisiana) and Shaw University (North Carolina) said they had insufficient data on which to base statements.

Certain school systems are tough to crack and there is a surplus of teachers in certain disciplines, most of these officials said, but if a

young black graduate is not too choosy, he can find a teaching job somewhere. "There is quite a widespread demand for our teachers, except in areas like history and English," said Hamlet E. Goore, director of placement at Winston-Salem State.

The displacement that buffets black teachers--and the national teacher surplus (in some disciplines) that confronts all teachers--may be dissuading some young blacks from going into teaching in the first place, however. Three of the nine institutions reported that the number of their teacher grads has declined in recent years, and five said that the percentage of their products actually going into teaching is down. Slight decreases in the number of graduates were reported by Tennessee State and Southern. Florida A & M's total of 104 grads for 1969-1970 was down from 146 in 1968-69 and 182 in 1967-68. Five of the schools said their totals were consistent with the recent past.

Officials at the five institutions whose teacher graduates are shying away from the education profession gave as reasons the new opportunities for young blacks in other fields and their distrust of Southern schools, as well as the teacher surplus. Industry, business, state and federal government, and graduate school are luring more and more blacks away from teaching, they said. Moreover, blacks are growing suspicious of the teaching profession and its predominantly white administrators. "The bigots," said Shaw's placement director, Frank B. Belk. "They're grinning and saying 'come on in' and closing the door at the same time."

The respondents in the RRIC survey also agreed that, by and large, young black teachers do not seem to be leaving the South in any great number. Recruiting by school systems, despite the teacher surplus, has increased recently, most said, and a few noted that metropolitan systems in the South were vigorously recruiting on their campuses.

The decline in hiring of black teachers apparently is more acute in rural areas and small towns than in metropolitan centers, but once again, substantiating facts are elusive. Many of the larger systems have to maintain court-imposed ratios on their faculties, RRIC sources reported, and they need teachers for their predominantly black schools. Consequently, they hired about as many black teachers this year as in the past.

The metro school system in Nashville hired more blacks than usual, according to Leon D. Bradley, director of personnel. The final figures have not been compiled, he told RRIC, but there has been "a substantial increase in the number of new black teachers in the last couple of years." Black teachers constitute about 22 per cent of the total in Nashville, he said, and the student population is about 25 per cent black.

A check with four other metropolitan systems revealed that their hiring of blacks held constant or fell off slightly this year. Richmond city schools employed 187 new blacks and 185 whites--the same ratio as in previous years, according to personnel director Rondle Edwards. (Fifty-two per cent of the teachers in the system are black.) The Dade County (Miami) public schools hired 214 (17 per cent of the total hired) this fall, as compared to 294 (21 per cent) a year ago and 183 (13 per cent) in 1968-69, according to administrative research associate Kenneth W. Hamersley.

In Chattanooga, the hiring of blacks apparently fell off somewhat this year. About 42 per cent of the teachers in the system are black, according to George W. James, director of professional personnel and recruitment. This year 85 whites and 43 blacks (34 per cent) were hired. In Charlotte-Mecklenburg County (N.C.), the percentage of blacks on the professional staff has held even at about 25 per cent over the last four years. The system hired proportionately fewer blacks than whites this year, said personnel director W.L. Anderson, because the turnover of black teachers is lower

than whites'.

All five school systems said they are vigorously recruiting young blacks. Nashville will recruit at 43 predominantly black schools this year, as compared to 16 or 20 last year, according to Bradley. Twenty of the 45 colleges Chattanooga officials will visit this year are predominantly black, said James.

Away from the cities, it appears, black teachers are faring more poorly. Source after source told RRIC that, in their small-town or county school system, black teachers are being passed over. In those places, said Albert G. Tippitt, a former black principal who is now researching displacement for a dissertation at the University of Virginia, "there won't be any black replacements unless the black is Phi Beta Kappa. And how many Phi Beta Kappa's would want to locate in, say, Crossbone County?"

Statistics in the possession of Rims Barber, education director of the Delta Ministry in Mississippi, show that about 80 per cent of the teachers hired new to the system in 26 Mississippi districts this year were white. A year or two ago, said Barber, that percentage was 50 or 60 per cent. In De Soto County, Mississippi, for example, 72 whites were hired this year, as opposed to 6 blacks. In Jones County it was 58 and 1, and in Pascagoula, 99 and 5.

About 110 of the some 120 black teachers in Kinston, N.C., alarmed by the possibility of a similar trend there, have retained an attorney, Donald Pollock, to investigate. "They want to know why, in a school where black students are more than 50 per cent, black teachers are less than 30 per cent; why, in a county that is 40 per cent black, there are two blacks, and not three, on the school board (of seven)," said Pollock.

The demoting and the firing, like the decline in hiring, appears to be more of a rural phenomenon than an urban one. It is apparently most widespread

in the Deep South states of Mississippi, Louisiana and Alabama and least prevalent in the Upper South states of Tennessee and Virginia. But in some cases, where blacks are represented on the school board or where white superintendents have shown a sensitivity to the problem, blacks have escaped a serious displacement situation.

In some states, it is possible to find a section that has the most problems; in others, it isn't. "The worst section in Alabama is all of Alabama," said Joe L. Reed, associate executive secretary of the Alabama Education Association (and onetime executive secretary of the former black teachers group). Neighboring towns often don't behave similarly. "You can have two communities twenty miles apart," said Gillespie Wilson, NAACP president in Texas. "One will retain 60 to 65 per cent of its black teachers, the other only 10 per cent."

Cities like Mobile, Charleston, Houston and New Orleans still have predominantly black schools, and that, said Miss Winifred Green of the American Friends Service Committee in Atlanta, is why black teachers' ranks there have not been depleted. Court-imposed teacher ratios and the scrutiny of federal officials, other sources said, have held down displacement somewhat in urban areas. "They can get rid of only so many black teachers and still have enough (for the ratio)," said Mobile attorney A.J. Cooper.

When a black teacher is dismissed, it is generally for one of several reasons. In some systems, the average daily attendance (ADA) of students is a criterion for setting the size of the faculty. Thus, when white students leave the public schools for private academies (or simply drop out of school), the victim of the ensuing faculty reduction usually is the black teacher.

In some cases, white teachers are abandoning the public schools, too, and their departure--coupled with an apparent misapplication of a recent court decision concerning faculty ratios--is also costing black teachers their

jobs. The Singleton decree of the U.S. Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals stipulates that when teachers are dismissed due to desegregation, subsequent vacancies cannot be filled by a person of another race until all displaced teachers have had the opportunity to fill them. The decree doesn't speak to vacancies created by voluntary resignations, but nonetheless, in some places it is being applied when whites resign. Thus blacks are fired and new whites hired in order to maintain the old faculty ratio.

Another tactic that is being used against black teachers--apparently with increasing frequency--is the standardized test, particularly the National Teacher Examinations (NTE) of the Educational Testing Service (ETS) in Princeton, N.J. Three states have made it a requirement for all teachers. North Carolina requires a certain minimum score before teachers can be certified. In South Carolina, a teacher's level of certification and salary depends in part on her NTE score. In Texas, the test is also a statewide requirement for certification, but a minimum score is required in only a few systems.

The NTE is also required for some or all teaching positions in at least a few school systems in the other Southern states, and is encouraged in other systems. ETS estimates that about 40 per cent of the test's use in the United States is in the Southeast.

The NTE is designed to measure academic preparation for teaching in three areas (general education, professional education, and teaching area specialization), according to ETS, which has contended that, when used in conjunction with other measures of a teacher's qualifications (transcripts, references, interview, observation), the NTE can be a valid way of determining certification.

However, the test's critics--among them the NEA and most black educators--maintain that, in many places in the South, the test is being used to weed

out blacks. There are reports from several counties in South Carolina, Mississippi, and Louisiana that black teachers allegedly were dismissed for failing to make a certain score. Another South Carolina town, Clover, reportedly began releasing blacks with less than "A" certificates (the certificate level is contingent on NTE scores) in 1967, and replacing them with whites.

Many black teachers, and some whites, object to taking the NTE. "There's something crooked about it," said H.B. Seets, a Caswell County, N.C., teacher. Last year most of the 36 black teachers at a high school in Butler, Ga., refused to take the NTE, and their contracts were not renewed.

Florida began requiring a certain score on NTE (or one of two other tests) in 1961, but revoked the requirement several years later, reportedly because many whites were scoring poorly on it. An NEA task force found at least two Louisiana districts which had tried the test and then abandoned it when whites scored low.

Dr. Richard Majetic, NTE program director for ETS, agrees that the NTE can be abused. "You can build the best test available," he said, "but if there's malice in somebody's heart, it can be used to eliminate blacks." Educational Testing Service representatives have appeared in court in Mississippi and Louisiana against school systems which have misused the test, he said.

To date, however, the NTE has been involved in only a few court cases, and its use, and the use of other standard tests, according to the NEA, has been growing in the South. NEA-supported litigation successfully challenged use of the NTE in Columbus, Miss., and a similar suit has been filed in Okolona, Miss., with the support of Northern Mississippi Rural Legal Service.

Critics of NTE contend that it cannot measure a teacher's classroom performance and that it is stacked against blacks, many of whom did not share

the middle-class, white orientation upon which the test was supposedly built. "There are hundreds of items on that test that have nothing to do with a teacher's ability to teach," said Harold Trigg, a black member of the North Carolina State Board of Education and long-time foe of NTE. "It has prevented people with lots of ability from entering the profession."

Another common justification for displacement of blacks is their "incompetence" or "inadequate training." White school boards, indifferent about the quality of black teachers they hired during the days of dual schools, are now looking at their employees again and judging some of them unqualified for desegregated schools. The competence of whites to teach in a biracial setting rarely is questioned.

Most black educators bristle with resentment at the suggestion that black teachers, as a group, are less qualified than whites. "If I had a degree from the Sorbonne," said Dr. Albert Baxter, associate professor at Arkansas A M & N University, "my education would be 'inferior' because I am black." North Carolina has had 19 court cases involving black teachers in the last five years, nearly all of them including a charge of incompetence, said the NCAE's E.B. Palmer. "We lost only one (case)--which says to me that the charge is not valid. I would take issue with anyone who says black teachers as a group are more incompetent than whites."

Nevertheless, many blacks are being dismissed for just that reason, valid or not. "We were lax about the quality of our black teachers before desegregation," said John Mize, director of the Division of Administrative Leadership Services in the Georgia State Department of Education. "Now we are paying the price and having to clean house, which is why more blacks have been fired in the last 12 months. We brought it on ourselves; it's an indictment against us."

Retraining is the solution that many, including officials in the U.S. Office

of Education, are suggesting. To many blacks, that kind of thinking is merely swallowing whole the justification for discrimination advanced by some Southern school boards

"You nave some poor black teachers and some poor white teachers," said the Alabama Education Association's Joe L. Reed. "There are poor lawyers and there are poor doctors and there are poor officials in the Office of Education. Every teacher needs to improve, but I don't think retraining will solve the problem (of displacement)."

Some sources think retraining is a good idea, however. "There is a moral responsibility here," said Hugh Ingram, administrator of the Professional Practices Council of the Florida State Department of Education. "If these people can become good teachers, this society should give them a chance."

Incompetency is not nearly as widespread as state departments of education and superintendents claim, said the American Friends Service Committee's Winifred Green. "My feeling is--that school system employed that teacher as qualified, and now it can't fire that teacher. If she was qualified for blacks, then she is qualified for whites. If you change your qualifications, then it's your responsibility to see that that teacher is brought up to them. It's the responsibility of that board to pay for any retraining."

When black teachers are dismissed or demoted, there is not much they can do. Six of the 11 Southern states have tenure laws, or their equivalent--which generally provide that, after a three-year probationary period, a tenured teacher cannot be dismissed without certain procedural steps, incuding formal notice, statement of cause, and a hearing before the board. Arkansas has a fair dismissal law, which is slightly weaker, and North Carolina a continuing contract law, which requires only that a teacher be formally notified if she is to be released. Two states, Mississippi and South Carolina, operate on an annual contract basis, and Georgia has tenure in three counties.

Yet a tenure law is only as effective as its administrators are faithful in following it, and most sources agreed that, with the possible exception of Tennessee, tenure in the South is a pretty weak reed.

Black teachers lost an ally when, in nine of the states, the black teacher associations merged with their white counterparts. (In Mississippi and Louisiana, where the white groups were expelled from the NEA, the former black groups are the official NEA affiliates.) In all nine states, the black group's top executive was made an "associate" or "assistant" to a white man in the merged group, which invariably has lacked the old willingness to fight for black teachers. Grumbling about the merged groups is heard from blacks in practically every state.

There also seems to be a credibility gap--if not a chasm--between black teachers and various arms of the federal government. "The Justice Department-you contact one office and they refer you to another," said Fred Idom, a Marion County, Miss., teacher who was dismissed last spring.

Another Mississippi teacher who was denied a renewal last spring, Don Jennings of Meridian, said "I've contacted Senators Kennedy, Mondale and Brooks and got nothing. I wrote Atty. Gen. Mitchell and he contacted the local FBI man. That man told me he'd contacted school officials before he contacted me and that he held the principal and a local preacher responsible for the trouble (a walkout at one of the schools) and that he didn't believe in demonstrations After all that, he told me he had an open mind. That's when I gave up on the government."

"Down here," said Monroe, La., attorney Paul Kidd, "the Justice Department's a joke, the FBI's a joke, and HEW's a joke. HEW comes down and says, 'man, that's terrible,' and then they go back to Washington and don't do a damn thing about it."

The courts have been an effective recourse for a few black teachers, but that route can be a long and expensive one and there is still a dearth of

black lawyers and white lawyers willing to take such cases. Many teachers who have won reinstatement have not gone back.

Feeble as the recourses are, however, they would be more effective were it not for the timidity and conservatism of many black teachers. Monitors in South Carolina found that many teachers got their jobs back merely by making threatening references to a law suit, according to Hayes Mizell of the South Carolina American Friends Service Committee. The same happenstance in other parts of the South was reported by Dr. John W. Davis, special director of teacher information and security with the Legal Defense Fund in New York City.

But black teachers usually hang back. If they have been demoted, they fear the loss of their job. If they have been dismissed, they fear being put on the "black list," that unwritten understanding among white superintendents not to recommend "trouble-makers" to one another. They fear for their families' physical safety, and they fear the power of the white creditor.

"As a rule, 95 per cent of the teachers never do anything," said Louis R. Lucas, a Memphis attorney who handles LDF and NAACP cases. Getting teachers to complain, added Rims Barber of the Delta Ministry, "is like pulling teeth." "We hear about a case and go down there to investigate, and the brother just evaporates," said Gillespie Wilson, NAACP president in Texas.

Because teachers don't report displacement, it's doubly hard to measure, said Dr. Vernon McDaniel, executive director of the Commission on Democracy in Education in Dallas. "If you get 10 complaints," he said, "you can multiply that by 10."

There seems no way to tell if black teachers' displacement problems will multiply. For most of them, ironically, desegregation has not been a happy process. Some RRIC sources, of course, pointed to favorable aspects of desegregation--improved facilities, enhanced opportunities (in some cases)--but many black teachers and several black officials in the teacher associations spoke

bitterly.

Dr. Horace E. Tate of the Georgia Association of Educators and Joe L. Reed of the Alabama group have started calling "integration" by another name--"outegration." J.K. Haynes of the Louisiana Education Association called it "a farce as far as teachers are concerned. Nobody ever dreamed that man's inhumanity to man would manifest itself to this extent."

The price of desegregation often has been the pay or the prestige or the position of the black teacher. What J.C. James called in the New Republic "the greatest single reservoir of talent and skills so necessary to the changing South" is clearly in danger of marked depletion, if not eventual extinction. And that, for the desegregating South and its black community, may be the cruelest irony of all.

* * *

Following are more detailed reports from each of the 11 states.

ALABAMA

One - third of the estimated 10,500 black teachers in the state have been dismissed, demoted or pressured into resigning this year, according to two attorneys who handle Legal Defense Fund cases, A.J. Cooper of Mobile and U.W. Clemon of Birmingham. Rufus Huffman, field director of the NAACP Education Center in Tuskegee, estimates that at least 20 per cent of the teachers have been dismissed since last spring.

A private black group, the Alabama League for the Advancement of Education, has been conducting a system-by-system survey of principal and teacher displacement this fall. But according to chairman Joe L. Reed, who is also associate executive secretary of the Alabama Education Association, the group will not report its findings until late November or December. The survey, he said, found "many, many dismissals and many, many demotions."

About the only sources who said that displacement is not a statewide problem were in the Intercultural Center for Southern Alabama, a federally funded program at the University of South Alabama in Mobile. Director David Bjork and associates William Nallia and Rod A. Taylor said they were not aware of much displacement. "In fact," said Nallia, "I couldn't pinpoint more than two or three cases."

Just about everybody else outlined a bleak statewide picture. "It's awful, awful critical," said Solomon S. Seay, a Montgomery attorney who handles teacher cases. "Alarmingly high," added K.L. Buford, state field director of the NAACP. "There has been quite a large number displaced."

Blacks' employment prospects aren't good either, most sources said. "The trend for 1970-71," said Seay, "is that lots of systems just aren't hiring new blacks." The Intercultural Center's Nallia felt that "generally, blacks' prospects are pretty good," but his colleague, Taylor, who is black, noted that a number of blacks couldn't find jobs this year in Mobile and Huntsville.

Dismissals apparently are not occurring in the state's metropolitan centers, RRIC sources reported. But in Mobile, for example, attorney Cooper said that black teachers have been relieved of their positions as department heads, assigned out of their field and placed in schools far away from their homes. Some black women, he said, have not been rehired after taking medical leaves.

"Mass demotions" have been reported to the NAACP Education Center, according to Huffman. In some counties, said field director Buford, black teachers reportedly were working without contracts, and in other counties blacks were not issued contracts until two weeks before school began this fall. Attorney Seay's office has filed suits in some 15 teacher cases.

There has been a statewide tenure law in Alabama for years, but even though special--and weaker--local acts in eight counties were ruled unconstitutional recently, some don't place much faith in the law. ("It's not very good," said

attorney Seay.) The National Teacher Examination is required in three school systems.

Legal Defense Fund monitors in the state reported that four black teachers were fired and two asked to resign in Muscle Shoals. Another, said the LDF, was fired in Lauderdale County. In Barbour County last spring, letters were sent to about 40 teachers--all but one black--informing them that because of a desegregation mandate, their jobs could not be guaranteed. About 15 teachers challenged it, according to NAACP reports, and were re-employed.

ARKANSAS

Two or three years ago, dismissals and resignations of black teachers were legion, RRIC sources reported. And this year, too, the thinning ranks of the state's black teachers have apparently been riddled by displacement. The survey turned up no comprehensive statistics, however.

A recent dissertation at the University of Arkansas by Dr. Albert Baxter (now associate professor of education at Arkansas A M & N College) documents the displacement of black teachers in 62 of the state's 382 districts during the single year in which each district desegregated. "In most instances," said Dr. Baxter, "almost all black teachers were gotten rid of." He counted 212 teachers and principals who were fired or persuaded to leave.

Since 1968 (the last year covered in his study), Baxter said, it appears that black teachers are being retained, though demotions have remained widespread. A spokesman in the State Department of Education agreed. "There is a trend statewide to maintain present staffs to some degree," he said. "It is difficult to show what is actually taking place in regard to black teachers unless you compare the number of teachers with normal staffing which existed three or four years ago." At least seven districts in one part of the state had few or no blacks on the staff, he said.

Other sources, though, maintain that dismissals have continued. The Voter Education Project of the Arkansas Council on Human Relations has compiled a partial list with the names of 27 dismissed teachers. Legal Defense Fund representatives, monitoring in 68 districts of the state this fall, found at least 33 cases of teachers who had been fired or whose contracts had not been renewed. "Almost every district has something," said Little Rock attorney John Walker, who handles many LDF cases.

L.C. Bates, state field director of the NAACP, was an exception to most RRIC sources. "There have been a few cases," he said, "but nothing alarming. It is not critical."

The attrition rate was high in the districts monitored by the LDF--four not rehired in Barton, seven fired in Marianna, "many demotions and many firings" in Forrest City. None were fired in Magnolia, but a number quit. Black teachers in that district were reportedly "scared to death and are isolated by white teachers," and many were demoted. In at least two districts, the LDF found, only black teachers were assigned to Title I programs.

When two black teachers assigned to Title I were dismissed in October by the Wabbaseka school system due to insufficient federal funds, students in their school (all-black) staged a walkout. Twenty-five black faculty and staff members in the system have filed suit against the district, charging discrimination against blacks in terms of pay and other conditions of employment.

Blacks' employment prospects in the state, most sources agreed, are poor--especially when compared to whites' opportunities. There was also a feeling--again, undocumented--that the largest concentration of displacement was occurring in the predominantly black districts along the Delta.

The National Teacher Exam is required in only two systems (Little Rock and Pine Bluff). A new fair dismissal law went into effect in the state this summer, replacing a continuing contract arrangement. Whereas before, under continuing

contract, a teacher's contract could be ended merely by notifying her by mail at the end of the school year, now she must be told why she is being released. Although the law lacks some of the procedural provisions of a tenure law, said Mrs. Annie M. Abrams of the Arkansas Education Association, "it definitely will help black teachers."

FLORIDA

More than 1,000 dismissals, widespread demotions, and a decline in the overall number of black teachers have been consequences of desegregation in the state during the last three years, according to the Florida Education Association. And yet, until the FEA issued a report this month documenting the state's dismal displacement situation, many persons seemingly in a position to know about it apparently did not.

"There really haven't been but a few cases of displacement over the last five years," said Dan Cunningham, director of the Technical Assistance Program in the State Department of Education. "The state's growing like crazy, and sometimes superintendents even have to go with incompetent teachers they'd probably like to get rid of." Gordon Foster, director of the Title IV, Florida School Desegregation Consulting Center, said he hasn't heard of much displacement. And Wendell Holmes, a black member of the school board in Jacksonville, said displacement is not occurring "to any great extend." All three men were contacted by the RRIC before the FEA report was released.

RRIC got virtually the same assessment--again, before the FEA report--from attorneys in three cities--Fort Lauderdale, Orlando and St. Petersburg. A fourth attorney, Earl Johnson in Jacksonville, said he knew of a half-dozen cases of displacement, but only Theodore Bowers, a Panama City lawyer, had knowledge of widespread discrimination (about 10 outright dismissals and "substantial" demotions in a seven-county area, he said).

The FEA's report, written by executive secretary Wally Johnson, found displacement in 42 of the state's 67 counties, 37 of them showing declines in the number of black teachers and 22 showing a drop in black administrators. Eight counties did not have a single black principal or assistant principal in 1969-70. The counties with the greatest loss in the number of black teachers were: Palm Beach (252), Escambia (86), Broward (80), Hillsborough (75), Polk (70), Gadsden (53), Volusia (33), Leon (32) and Lake (28). Those counties are scattered all over the state.

Many of the teachers, wrote Johnson, "left voluntarily, others have been pushed aside, while the only constant besides change has turned out to be racism."

The state has a tenure law, and special local tenure laws govern certain counties. A statewide requirement to take the NTE was abolished in 1967, but it is still required in Dade County (Miami).

Demotions of black teachers have been legion, too, according to other sources. FEA assistant executive secretary Walter Smith, who has traveled extensively in the state this fall, reported that head coaches, department heads and leaders of teaching teams are rarely black any more. "We have not had a single black that I know of who was head coach and then was transferred to the new (desegregated) school as head coach," he said. Many black teachers now "just babysit," said Marvin Davies, field director of the state NAACP. "They stand watch in the halls or in the cafeteria, and they watch the kids get on and off the buses."

The overall decline of black teachers detailed by the FEA report is made "still more startling" by the fact that, over the last three years, the total number of teachers in the state has risen by 7,500, wrote the FEA's Johnson. For every 22 new black pupils to enter Florida schools in the past three years, he said, one black has disappeared.

GEORGIA

In Georgia, it depends on whom you ask. Officials in the State Department of Education maintain that displacement is not a problem. Black officials of the Georgia Association of Educators and others insist that it is. There are, unfortunately, no substantiating statistics from either group. A black organization, the Teachers Agency of Georgia, Inc. (TAG), says it intends to release a report on teacher displacement soon.

In May 1969, a survey conducted by the (black) Georgia Teachers and Education Association (GTEA) in 30 north Georgia systems indicated that, since 1963-64, the number of black teachers had declined by 27 per cent and the number of black principals by 56 per cent. (A subsequent survey of 30 systems last April revealed that while black students constituted 51 per cent of the total enrollment, blacks comprised only 40 per cent of the teachers.)

This year, said State Department officials, there has been little displacement. "There might be a few cases," said Wilson M. Harry, coordinator of federal relations, "but I don't know of them."

"If you say someone has been fired because he's black," said John Mize, director of the Division of Administrative Leadership Services, "I would doubt it very seriously. We have a real fear of firing blacks. Fire a white, and the federal government doesn't come down here."

Dr. Morrill M. Hall, director of the School Desegregation Education Center in Athens, said he has been "pleasantly surprised" this fall. "Most superintendents and boards have bent over backwards to see that Negro teachers are not displaced."

The general impression of Lynn R. Westergaard, education director of the Atlanta Urban League, and Dr. William H. Denton, associate professor of education at Atlanta University, however, is that the problem is widespread.

There are about 11,000 black teachers in Georgia, according to Dr. Horace

E. Tate, associate executive secretary of the Georgia Association of Educators (GAE) and former executive secretary of the GTEA. Six years ago, there were 14,000. During that period, he said, some school systems have lost as many as 50 black teachers.

This year alone, probably 20 per cent of the state's black teachers have been affected by dismissal or demotion, in the estimation of Dr. Robert Threatt, professor of education at Fort Valley State College and president of the GAE.

The contracts of 11 black teachers were not renewed last spring in Baker County, according to reports in the files of the DuShane Emergency Fund of the NEA. Some were subsequently rehired. Two have taken the matter to court. In Taylor County, 22 teachers reportedly refused to take the National Teacher Exam and were not given new contracts. Other DuShane Fund reports list three principals and a coach demoted in Harris County, and one or two teachers whose contracts were not renewed in Calhoun.

In Randolph County, the superintendent required most of the teachers at a small black school in Shellman to teach in a summer enrichment program--at half salary--so that he could "observe" them, ascertain their level of competence, and decide whether to hire them for the unitary school in Cuthbert. Only a handful of the 16 blacks went along. One who wouldn't was not rehired. Some changed jobs. The principal at the black school is now teaching seventh-grade social studies and history at the unitary school--at $80 less per month.

Those who said displacement is a problem usually fingered north Georgia as the state's trouble spot. "Teachers are being lost all across north Georgia," Tate said.

In Atlanta, few blacks have been displaced, according to the Urban League's Westergaard, but because a federal court ordered the city to distribute teachers in each school on a ratio of 57 per cent black and 43 per cent white, the school board had to hire some 300 whites before hiring any blacks. About

300 whites left the system before the teacher transfer began.

RRIC sources were divided in assessing employment prospects for blacks. The ones who saw a displacement problem also saw difficulty for young blacks seeking teaching jobs. Others said there was a demand for black teachers.

"Next year every Negro who wants a job and is halfway competent will be in demand," said Hall.

De Kalb, Fulton and Richmond counties have tenure rules, but in the rest of the state teachers have neither tenure nor continuing contracts. The National Teacher Examination is required in three systems; statewide all teachers seeking state scholarships or certain high certificates must take it.

LOUISIANA

"Desperately serious problems" stemming from desegregation, including wholesale displacements, were discovered in Louisiana and Mississippi early this fall by a task force from NEA. J.K. Haynes, executive secretary of the Louisiana Education Association, estimates that more than 400 black teachers in his state have been affected in the last two years; staff attorney Stanley Halpin of the Lawyers Constitutional Defense Committee in New Orleans says at least that many have been affected this year alone.

Full desegregation in practically all of Louisiana's 66 school districts did not begin until September 1969 or later. One of the results--"hundreds of displacements"--was partially documented in February by another NEA task force, which found that black teachers were being put in remedial classes that were all black or predominantly black, were being steered away from language arts classes, and were being departmentalized even at the elementary level (presumably so that a white child would not be with a black teacher all day).

The wide extent of displacement may account in part for the lack of statewide statistics. "I suppose there's not a parish in north Louisiana that

hasn't gotten rid of four black teachers," said Monroe attorney Paul Kidd. "There is a very significant problem," added Halpin. "It's happening everywhere."

The exodus of many white students and teachers to the private academies--with the resulting drop in average daily attendance and an apparent misapplication of the Singleton decree--is causing blacks to be dismissed. And here, too, the trend seems to be away from hiring new blacks.

In St. Martin Parish this year, about 90 new teachers were employed. Only 14 of them were black, a considerably lower percentage than in previous years. A spokesman there said the employment situation was worse in nearby parishes. Lafourche Parish had a net gain of four black teachers and 263 white teachers between 1965 and 1969, according to NEA. Candidates with master's degrees reportedly were being rejected there. Forty-six whites and no blacks were added to the Monroe city system this year, according to attorney Kidd. "Inside of four years, I doubt there'll be 10 per cent of our black teachers still left in the state," he said.

A well-publicized displacement case in the state occurred last spring in Concordia Parish, where 19 teachers, three principals and a white teacher considered "too liberal" were not rehired. A federal court ordered them reinstated, however, and the decision is now on appeal to the Fifth Circuit. There were a considerable number of nonrenewals elsewhere, too, according to DuShane Emergency Fund reports--12 in Tangipahoa Parish, two in Monroe City, and one each in St. Mary, Webster and Lafayette parishes. In Richland Parish 20 blacks and three whites were not rehired because they had failed to improve in "personal characteristics for teaching." Thirty-seven whites and six blacks were hired this fall to replace them, according to the NEA. There is a statewide tenure law in Louisiana; the National Teacher Exam is used in nine systems.

Five black teachers were dismissed outright and many others demoted in East Feliciana Parish, according to attorney Halpin. Blacks there also are

being eliminated from positions of authority, he said. Several teachers in Livingston Parish reportedly got letters saying their services were no longer required, but later most of them were reinstated. In St. James Parish, a black man with a master's degree and 25 years' tenure with the district was demoted from the principalship of a formerly all-black school to "assistant visiting teacher."

Widespread frustration among teachers of both races is being reported this fall in New Orleans, where some teachers have been transferred to achieve at least a 25-75 ratio on all school faculties (at least 25 per cent black teachers at predominantly white schools and vice-versa). An evaluation team of the American Federation of Teachers reported that blacks pulled from predominantly black schools to fill the quotas at white schools have not been replaced by white teachers of equal ability.

MISSISSIPPI

An NEA task force that toured the state early this year called Mississippi the "focal point of massive trouble" in Southern school desegregation. On the specific issue of discrimination against black teachers, the NEA description seems to fit.

A thousand of them were out of work as late as August, according to C.J. Duckworth, executive secretary of the (black) Mississippi Teachers Association (MTA). He says about 700 of those eventually found teaching jobs. Like all other sources contacted by RRIC, Duckworth's organization has no definitive statistics on the teacher displacement problem. The Educational Resource Center of Mississippi, an agency formed jointly by MTA, the Delta Ministry, the NAACP and others to monitor the desegregation process, estimates that 130 black teachers now are out of work. The NEA's DuShane Fund office in Washington has the names of more than 80 teachers who were dismissed or failed to have

their contracts renewed. Rims Barber, education director of the Delta Ministry, says there are "roughly a thousand" jobless black teachers. An official in the Mississippi State Department of Education approached the question with an apparent assumption that discrimination against black teachers is no problem at all.

Employment prospects for blacks are no better than fair to poor, most sources agreed. Moreover, they reported that demotions probably outstrip dismissals. Black department heads, they said, are almost nonexistent, and a common demotion practice is to relegate classroom teachers to the role of teacher aides. It was reported that blacks who were ordered rehired by the courts are being assigned to hall duty and study halls rather than to their old classrooms.

At the highest levels of the public education establishment in Mississippi, officials paint an entirely different picture. "I don't know of any teacher who has been displaced," said John O. Ethridge, information advisory officer in the State Department of Education.

There is neither tenure nor continuing contract legislation to protect teachers in Mississippi; hiring is generally on an annual basis (state law provides that a teacher may be hired for up to three years). The National Teacher Exam is not a statewide criterion, but critics insist that it has been used to justify dismissals in the nine systems where it is required.

The flight of white students and teachers to private schools, ironically, has been damaging to black teachers in Mississippi. The decline in average daily attendance--in some districts, a criterion for the number of teachers employed--offers white educators who remain in charge of the public schools an excuse for dismissing teachers. The decline in white teachers allegedly is being used--in an apparent misapplication of a federal appeals court ruling--to justify the firing of more blacks and the hiring of more whites in

order to maintain a ratio favorable to the whites.

The DuShane Fund's files identify a number of school systems where black teachers' contracts were not renewed for this school year: nine in Attala County, "at least" 12 in Rankin, seven in Franklin County, some 20 in Madison, "several" in Pontotoc, Hinds County and Columbus, and one each in Humphreys, Neshoba and Meridian.

In another county, Marion, up to 19 teachers were reported dismissed from the county schools--including Fred Idom, the president of the county teachers' association, a political activist. Another six teachers were reported dismissed from the Columbia city system.

NORTH CAROLINA

Eighty-nine black teachers were dismissed last spring, according to reports received by the North Carolina Association of Educators (NCAE). Charlotte attorney Julius Chambers, who handles teachers cases for the NAACP Legal Defense Fund, has counted 105 teachers who have been dismissed outright or pressured into resigning. LDF investigator Bob Valder says there have been "wholesale" demotions and assignments out of field.

The State Department of Public Instruction maintains that it has no statistics, but three spokesmen acknowledged that there is a problem. "There is an assumption," said Asst. Supt. James Burch, "that it is going on in subtle, devious ways."

Title I coordinator Harold Webb said he personally has heard of little classroom teacher displacement ("there's more at the administrative level"), but added, "there is a feeling among the general black population that it is going on."

Actual, overt dismissals and demotions have affected up to 12 or 14 per cent of the state's black teachers, in the estimation of the State Department's

associate director in the Division of Human Relations, Dudley Flood. Pressured resignations have been even more widespread than that, he said: "We have had cases of principals telling a teacher, 'come back and we'll give you hell.'"

Displacement is more prevalent east of Raleigh, in the traditionally conservative, coastal-plain portion of the state where there are few sizable towns and proportionately more blacks.

In Bertie County, some 20 teachers reportedly were dismissed at the end of the 1969-70 school year. Brunswick County is said to have had five dismissals; Lenoir County, 11. In Wilson, a black teacher told the NCAE she was fired because she spoke harshly to a white colleague and made her cry.

In Johnston County, a black man who formed an Afro-American club at his school and criticized school policies was demoted from high school English to the sixth and seventh grade. Then his contract was not renewed. The teacher, who had an "A" certification and was a city councilman, is now a career counselor at Shaw University in Raleigh.

Many desegregated schools in the state are hiring only a few blacks, according to the NCAE. Only six of the 54 new teachers hired this fall in Rocky Mount, and only three of the more than 40 hired in Washington, are black. That pattern, contended associate executive secretary E.B. Palmer (executive secretary of the former black teachers group), "is true all over the state."

Nonetheless, there is a feeling among RRIC sources that the opportunities for young black teachers are not totally bleak. Most seem to feel that blacks' prospects are still generally good. "If a student makes a substantial score on the National Teacher Examination," said Frank B. Belk, director of placement at Shaw University, "then he should have no trouble finding a job in an urban area."

Yet all sources concede that whites' prospects are probably better. "If

you put a white and a black side by side," said the State Department's James Burch, "the white will be the one hired."

North Carolina is one of only two Southern states that require teachers to achieve a certain minimum score on the National Teacher Examination before they can be certified. (A teacher's salary and level of certification are based on her educational background and experience.) Only one other weapon--the white principal's power to declare a teacher incompetent--accounts for more black dismissals than the NTE, according to Palmer. Teachers have been required to take the NTE for about 10 years, but it was not made a pre-requisite for certification until five years ago.

The state has never had a tenure law. All that stands between a teacher and the loss of her contract is a rather feeble continuing contract law which merely requires a school administration to formally notify a teacher in the spring if her contract will not be renewed. Otherwise, the teacher's contract is renewed automatically for the next school year. "The law," said attorney Chambers, "is really no protection at all."

SOUTH CAROLINA

The American Friends Service Committee, which conducted a teachers' rights center in the state last summer to help black educators, estimates that, in two-thirds of South Carolina's 93 districts, the contracts of about 50 or 60 teachers were not renewed. Six black principals were fired outright, acccording to AFSC director M. Hayes Mizell, and more than 80 others were demoted.

Thirty-seven black teachers brought complaints to the AFSC this summer, Mizell said, and the 24 cases which were investigated revealed that nine blacks had lost their jobs when their schools were closed, 11 had not had their contracts renewed, three had been demoted and one dismissed.

Others in the state said they could only generalize about the displacement situation there. Matthew J. Perry, a Columbia attorney who is handling several teacher cases now, called the situation "not critical, but a problem of concern." Another attorney there, Loughlin McDonald, called it "fairly widespread." However, Dr. Larry H. Winecoff, director of the South Carolina School Desegregation Consultant Center, said he "really hadn't heard of a lot," and director Joe Durham of the Technical Assistance Unit of the State Department of Education, said, "Pretty generally, competent black teachers and administrators have been retained."

Judging from RRIC sources' assessments, there seems to be no particular trouble spot in the state. Although Charleston was variously reported as having between six and 15 displaced teachers, it was the only city in the state said to have a problem.

The National Teacher Exam, which is required statewide as one of the criteria for certification and salary level, led to dismissals in at least three cases. According to NEA DuShane Fund reports, several teachers in Allendale County allegedly were not rehired because of low NTE scores. (Eventually they were allowed to teach another year.) Two more teachers in Berkeley County were not renewed for the same reason.

Four women, all with college degrees and two with almost 30 years' experience each, were not renewed this fall in Chesterfield County because of low NTE scores. One of them, Mrs. Marian Funderburk, said that last spring the superintendent indicated on her application for a summer school grant that she would be employed again this fall. Reminded of that later, Mrs. Funderburk said, the superintendent told her, "That was just a little of piece of paper, Mrs. Funderburk. It didn't mean a darn thing."

In Edgefield County, there were several teachers who did not receive new contracts originally. Five finally got them, but one--a 62-year-old woman

with 43 years' experience--never did. The state has no tenure law. Contracts can be offered on either an annual or long-term basis.

The dip in hiring of blacks is occurring in South Carolina, too, according to Mizell, W.E. Solomon of the South Carolina Education Association, and others. "It is a problem to be on the lookout for--after desegregation, blacks just aren't getting hired," said Mizell.

In a district in Lexington County, more than 100 whites and less than 10 blacks reportedly were hired during the past two years. There were reports also that in a district in Greenwood County (which became a unitary system last year), there were 20 blacks at the elementary level before 1968. Now there are five.

"School systems are only doing a minimum of what they have to do," said John Gadsden, executive director of Penn Community Services in Frogmore. "There is a fear on the part of teachers over the next stage, when school systems get bolder."

TENNESSEE

The state's displacement pattern seems to corroborate the old saw that west Tennessee is a part of the Deep South. Except in a handful of counties in the west, the state's black teachers seem to have escaped extensive dismissal and demotion.

No statewide statistics are available. Here and there in the middle and eastern portions of the state, rumors of displacement can be heard--three teachers allegedly were dismissed in Hamilton County, for example--but sources in the cities of Knoxville, Chattanooga and Nashville reported almost none.

The problem has been concentrated in a few of the largely rural counties of the west that have a high concentration of blacks. In Fayette County, for example, 15 black teachers were dismissed and a comparable number demoted.

(Thirteen have been ordered reinstated by a federal court.) Some two dozen more were reported dismissed in nearby Haywood County, and a lawsuit is expected there. Four teachers reportedly were fired in Lauderdale County, and 10 were demoted from classroom teaching to what are considered lesser assignments in the federally funded Title I program. There were reports that in each of three other west Tennessee counties--Crockett, Hardeman and Madison--at least two black teachers were either fired outright or not rehired.

In the Memphis area, some black teachers in the Shelby County schools have been displaced as the city school system proceeds with annexation of the county system. But according to Walter S. Wrenn of the Office of Civil Rights branch in Atlanta, a comparable number of whites have also lost their jobs, and "all Negro teachers with tenure in the county were placed somewhere" in the expanding city system.

Tennessee's tradition for moderation in racial matters and her strong tenure law--generally regarded as one of the best in the nation--are responsible for the lack of a serious displacement problem, most sources said. The National Teacher Examination is required in 12 school systems.

Nonetheless, there were scattered reports of a decline in the hiring of blacks. Legal Defense Fund monitors reported that 122 whites were hired this year in Hamilton County, and only one black. Other sources said that only one of the 18 new teachers hired in Madison County was black, and only three of the 21 in Jackson.

In rural areas, said E. Harper Johnson, director of special services and staff consultant for human relations with the Tennessee Education Association, "there seems to be a trend against employing young blacks. Unless it's a local boy or girl, they won't hire a black."

TEXAS

Although its worst effects were felt in Texas three or four years ago, desegregation is still leaving a tragic legacy: hundreds of black teachers are out of work. Incomplete results from a survey taken this fall by the Commission on Democracy in Education in Dallas reveal that, in 76 of the state's 1,244 districts, 225 teachers lost their jobs this year or are still out of work as a result of an earlier displacement. (There are about 450 districts in the state which have no black residents.)

The worst may have passed ("two or three years ago blacks were dismissed right and left," said Gilbert Conoley of the Title IV Technical Assistance Program), but displacement is still going on, according to some. Dr. E.W. Rand, dean of the graduate school at Texas Southern University in Houston, estimated that 15 to 20 per cent of the state's 12,000 to 15,000 black teachers have been dismissed, demoted or pressured into resigning this year. "It's happening, man; we see it all the time," said Gillespie Wilson, state NAACP president.

Others, however, say that they see little evidence of displacement this year. "I daresay there have been very few cases this fall," said Title IV's Conoley. James R. Ray, executive director of the Governor's committee on Human Relations, said he has heard of "just a couple of cases, and those without very much merit."

The results of the survey by the Commission on Democracy in Education, fragmented though they are, appear to disprove such notions, however. Typical of the findings of the commission's many contacts around the state was a report from the Waco area. It showed a former elementary principal now teaching math, a junior high principal demoted to elementary school, an elementary school principal reduced to "visiting teacher," two special education teachers whose contacts were not renewed, a teacher with 33 years'

experience summarily dismissed two months after school began, and so on.

There is a new tenure law in Texas--adopted in 1967--but it is permissive in nature. The legislation defines just grounds for dismissal and recommends that local boards adopt fair dismissal procedures, but leaves the matter largely to the discretion of the boards. Few boards are said to have followed the legislature's recommendations. All teachers have to take the NTE for certification, but a minimum score is required in only a few systems.

In many of the 76 districts in the commission's survey, there were only one or two teachers out of work In others it ran much higher--11 in Thrall, 10 in Dawson, Hemphill and Sweeny, nine in Eagle Lake, Ithasca and Spring Lake, eight in Caldwell and Cushing.

East Texas, the largely rural, Black-Belt area lying east of a Dallas-to-Houston line, apparently is the biggest nest of displacement. The NAACP's Wilson calls it that ("the Mississippi of Texas," he said), and earlier this year the NEA singled it out for investigation by a task force.

Judging from the admittedly spotty survey by the commission, however, central Texas may be equally prone to displacement. Four of the 13 districts in which seven or more teachers were reported out of work lie in east Texas, six are in the central portion of the state, and three are in the west (where, on the whole, very few blacks live). "Draw a north-south line through the center of Texas," said McDaniel. "East of that is where most displacements occur."

The large reservoir of unemployed teachers is as symptomatic of a decline in hiring as it is of displacement. "New black teachers do not enjoy equal opportunity at available teaching positions," reported the commission. "In the small school districts, there is a notable decrease in employment of black teachers; some have not employed any black teachers during the past two years."

Superintendents say that blacks just aren't applying, sai che commission. Blacks, in turn, say that their employment prospects are so poor they do not

bother to apply. In addition, reported the commission, black teachers are being discouraged by the prospect of being shifted from school to school.

VIRGINIA

There is neither hard data nor anything resembling a consensus, even among blacks, on the issue of teacher displacement. Two officials in the State Department of Education--George W. Burton, assistant superintendent for public instruction, and Harry L. Smith, director of public information--said they have heard of no displacement this year. And J. Shelby Guss, a black official in the Virginia Education Association (VEA), said, "I don't know if I could find 25 Negro teachers who've been dismissed or demoted."

On the other hand, RRIC was told by a civil rights lawyer that "Mississippi's got nothing on Virginia." There has been displacement "throughout the state," according to Mrs. Ruth Harvey, a Danville attorney and member of the State Advisory Committee to the U.S. Civil Rights Commission. "We are losing black principals and heads of departments," said Curtis Harris, state coordinator for the Virginia Council on Human Relations. "Yes, most definitely, it's happening," added Richmond attorney and vice mayor Henry L. Marsh III.

Charles N. McEwen, education reporter for the Fredericksburg Free-Lance Star, which covers four counties, summed it up: "Everybody thinks that teachers were displaced. But it seems to be a will-o'-the-wisp type thing."

"I know it's happening," said Lawrence D. Billups, director of the NEA's regional office in Springfield, "but I can't prove it."

Most who agreed with Billups held these opinions, too: Displacement was worse in the past than this year. Most of it has been scattered throughout the rural areas and small towns in the western and southern portions of the state. Nowhere this year has it been blatant.

In fact, there have been no blatant cases of displacement in Virginia for

several years, according to the VEA's Guss. In Giles County in the mid-sixties, he said, several teachers were dismissed, then ordered reinstated; that apparently left an impression on school administrators in the state.

Even if there is no overt displacement of black teachers, however, it is apparent that there is attrition in their ranks. In all sections of the state, the familiar "not-fired-but-not-hired-either" refrain can be heard. King George County, in the northeast, reportedly hired 22 new white teachers and only one new black this year. Its faculty is estimated to be 10 or 15 per cent black, its student population 40 to 50 per cent black. Five years ago, Roanoke County schools, in the southwest, had about 45 black teachers. There are said to be about 37 there now.

Usually, said Guss, "a black teacher has to be almost super to be employed in a new position" in the state. The result, he said, is that "our young people just aren't turning toward teaching like they used to."

The state adopted a tenure law in 1968 to replace its continuing contract law. The National Teacher Examination is required in eight systems.